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EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

SATURDAY MORNING, APRIL 19, 1856.

FOR PRESIDENT.

JAMES BUCHANAN,
OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Subject to the Decision of the National Convention.

THE NEXT PRESIDENCY—WHOM
SHOULD THE SOUTH PREFER?

We noticed the other day the appearance of an anonymous pamphlet, modestly entitled "An Appeal to the Democracy of Virginia." It is signed "A Virginian." Feeling a natural anxiety that this glorious old Commonwealth should have the benefit of honest counsels in the approaching nomination at Cincinnati, we turned to the tract with so much of disinterestedness in its title, and having found that it was a selfish and invidious commendation of one of the prominent candidates of the Democratic party, we have felt it our duty to expose, and counteract it; and moreover to give, in the shape of an appeal to the whole South, some reasons to prove the following propositions:

1st. That the Democracy of the South is under no obligation in honor or in policy to bestow their electoral votes upon Mr. Pierce, at the Cincinnati National Convention.

2d. That the Democracy of the South having tested the devotion of Mr. Buchanan to their rights, may consistently, honorably, and advantageously support him as the most eligible and appropriate nominee of that convention.

Before taking up these propositions, we pause a moment to deprive the anonymous pamphlet, to which we have referred, of that claim to public consideration, which might be based upon its title or its signature. And as we like that system of ratiocination, by which the origin of an act is to be inferred from its coincidences and consequences, we will state the reasons which justify the opinion that he is an office-holder in the District, and not a Virginian.

We infer that the pamphleteer is a District office-holder, because the field swarms with gentlemen who have no other means of signaling their fealty to the treasury than by anonymous hosannas to the hand that holds the key. They are naturally desirous to renew their policies, and effect an insurance upon their salaries for the four years to come. We infer that he is not a Virginian, because he neither avows the principles nor respects the usages of that ancient, honorable, and consistent Dominion, and because his counsels are neither those of a citizen nor of a true friend.

It has become our duty to demonstrate that Virginia and the South are under no obligations to support Mr. Pierce for a renomination, because the pamphleteer, in common with other partisans, insists that Virginia having established his claim "to her gratitude and confidence by devotion to the principles, attachment to the cause, and the most splendid success in the pursuit of her rights and interests," it would be equally "ungrateful and unwise in her now to desert him."

This assumption places Mr. Pierce upon the high ground of a public benefactor, whose continuance in office is indispensable to the maintenance of those principles which he has avowed. It lays Virginia and the South under a chivalrous obligation to sacrifice their interests rather than forfeit their fidelity. Let us examine if this be so, for, if it were, we confess it would be conclusive of the question. The Democratic party in Virginia in 1852 laid down Mr. Buchanan, its first choice, and cast their vote for Mr. Pierce. It did so on the principle that no local or personal preference should be permitted to interfere with the success of the Democratic party. If it should appear that the success of that party would be promoted by laying down Mr. Pierce in 1856, and taking up some other substitute, and that substitute should be Mr. Buchanan, it would not only illustrate an exalted devotion to principle, but become an act of political retribution. But does the South owe Mr. Pierce an obligation, which exposes it to the harsh denunciation of the pamphleteer and others, if it shall bestow its support upon any one else?

The Presidency of the United States is the highest office within the gift of the people. Thousands are born and die with an ungratified aspiration to enjoy its honors. Mr. Pierce has been by the people called from private life to occupy this office. For four years he has received a princely income. He has commanded the armies and directed the navy of the Republic; he has held the custody of its treasures. He has conducted the intercourse between this nation and others, and his name will be connected with all of national achievement during his administration. He has the power of a press fed by public patronage; it daily records his deeds, and advocates, with every circumstance of adulation, a renewal of the commission now about to expire under the periodical limitation imposed by the Constitution. He has taken from his antagonists and bestowed upon his friends the offices and salaries of the Government. In return for these honors and substantial advantages the Republic has received the personal services of the incumbent, rendered according to the best lights within him. This is a fair statement of the relation between them. Now, we do Mr. Pierce no injustice when we assert that he cannot so far have surpassed by the *splendor* and *solidity* of his services the aggregate of honors thus conferred upon him as to lay the party to which he owes all that he is, under a positive obligation that nothing but a renewal of their favor can repay. He is but the servant of the people, and can do no more by the most conscientious and efficient discharge of his duties, than earn the considerations upon which they were based. To say that the Republic owes him or any other man a renewal of any office conferred, is to recognize a relation that cannot under a Democratic theory of government exist. We think that the most servile of his adulators should admit that Mr. Pierce has at least received the value of his services, and that the Republic can owe him no further or

higher reward than the admission that he has done his duty.

But this assumption of an obligation due to Mr. Pierce is inadvertently destroyed by the pamphleteer, who so far drops the Virginia mask, as to state amongst the reasons which should actuate the South to support Mr. Pierce for a second term, that "if a President is assured that after a lapse of four years, he must inevitably return to a society where slavery is not tolerated and his friends are persecuted, he will not be disposed to sacrifice the happiness of his life in the service of a people he may never see again." But, "it is added," if the South will hold out to a northern President an assurance of support for another term, they offer him an almost inevitable inducement to support their interests. The South must avail itself of any expedient of self-protection. There is no dishonor in yielding the ambition of men to its car."

Now, Mr. Pierce is within both the terms of the category of characters to which this policy would apply. He is a "northern" man and the "President." Therefore, according to this casuist, unless assured that he will not be allowed "to return to a society where slavery is not tolerated," he may not be disposed to sacrifice his happiness for the inadequate consideration of a single term; to stipulate for the renewal of his official lease will "constitute an almost inevitable inducement" to him to serve the interests of the South.

This open and flagrant intimation of the price which is yet to be paid for his services, and the penalty of refusing to secure them, would alone warrant the people whose suffrages are asked on the score of magnanimity, to refuse them on the ground of self-preservation, and of self-respect. Such an avowal, at least, releases the South from any obligation—if any existed—to renew a mark of confidence thus shown to have been susceptible of perversion to the most mercenary purposes.

But since the ground of moral obligation has been thus virtually abandoned, let us examine the expediency of renominating Mr. Pierce upon the principles thus alleged to actuate him. In the refutation of the argument in favor of the policy proposed, we distinctly deny that the charge against the natives of one great section of the Union are true;—though of course, the advocates of an individual have a right to make any special admissions which please them, and to sacrifice the claim to the integrity of their candidate, if they can thereby more effectually promote his interests. If it be, however, true that "a Northern" President, is so mercenary, let us see how far he would be bound to the car of the South by a promise to confer upon him a renewal of his office. If the doubt in regard to the renomination of a Northern President will render the course of his administration uncertain, the certainty that he could not be continued in office beyond the second term would release him from any obligation to conform his actions during that term to the interests of the South. The practical result of the re-election of such an incumbent would be this: Having conducted his administration during his first term to secure the support of the South for a second, he would so direct it during the second, as to make his return to the bosom of that "society where slavery is not tolerated," as pleasant as possible. With the accumulated savings of eight years of public station, and the treacherous recantation of every sentiment obnoxious to "that society which does not tolerate slavery," we should find "a Northern President" compassing the two great objects of deceiving his sectional antagonists out of a competency, and reconciling his alienated fellow-citizens by sanctimonious professions, and a judicious application of the spoils of successful duplicity. If a sincere, though fanatical, people could be made parties to such a scheme, it would be but the story of some pirate, who undertakes to appease the outraged law by pretended penitence, and the profuse bestowal of the fruits of iniquity upon the altars of power or of superstition.

But we are glad that such imputations upon the honor of the North, and such infamous counsels to the Democracy of the South, exist but upon the ephemeral pages of an election pamphlet.

It is, indeed, a publication obscure, anonymous, irresponsible, and almost liable to the suspicion that it has been written by some enemy of the Democratic Party, to subject that party to the imputation of advising doctrines so dishonest, and tolerating advisers so reckless and inconsistent.

We, however, content ourselves with having disproved any obligation on the Southern Democracy to sustain Mr. Pierce for renomination, and cheerfully acquiesce in the imputation to which the unscrupulous zeal of his invisible advocate has subjected him.

But Mr. Pierce is not the most eligible nominee that the South can at this time select. A magnanimous sacrifice of local and sectional preferences to the common good of the Democratic party, resulted in his election, by a majority almost unparalleled in our electoral annals. The destinies of the Democratic party were committed to his hands, and he avowed his policy and principles in an inaugural address, which received the commendation of all men. But the acclamations with which he retired from the east portico of the Capitol were succeeded by murmurs of discontent. Under some unhappy idea, that the sacrifice of all selfish preferences for the common good, which had selected him for its type and agent, was but the result of his own popularity, he believed that he was the political Messiah, at whose advent all the animosities which separate parties were to be harmonized. Under this delusion, he summoned to his presence the old guard of Democracy and of the Constitution, bronzed by the campaigns, and grey with the trials of a life of service. He asked them to fraternize with the stipendiaries of abolition, who had encumbered the Democratic arm in the recent conflict. He passed over their battle-scarred ranks, disregarded the emblems of courage and fidelity, which Jefferson and Jackson, and Polk, had conferred upon them, and bade them divide their pay, and abdicate their honors in favor of these raw and dubious auxiliaries. That Bronson and Dickinson should have been so much enraged as to draw off, and organize these veteran battalions for their own independent protection—that the old guard should have spurned both the alliance and the allegiance, was to have been expected from their brave and patriotic nature; but that they should have steadily preserved their fidelity to the Democratic party, and resisted the seductive appeals of its enemies, proves that there are some "Northern" men to whom "an assurance of support for the Presidency" does not constitute an irresistible inducement to abandon their principles.

For there can be no doubt that Mr. Pierce, by admitting the claims of the Free-soil Democracy to an equal participation in the patronage of the Government without having required any renunciation of their principles or purposes—by removing such National Democrats as Bronson from office because they refused to fraternize with these intruders, and by promising to such unshriven enemies of the Union as General Dix the most honorable and responsible offices in his gift, has so exasperated the National Democracy of the North, that they will in no event unite upon his support. Indeed, they demand "his head in a charger" as a condition of any co-operation with the Democratic party in the ensuing canvass. It is well known that no ticket can succeed unless it unites the whole conservative vote. It is equally obvious that with the vote of the National Democrats either in opposition or neutrality, conservative success is impossible. Nor can any who look to the success of the Democratic party in the ensuing contest as indispensable to the prosperity, perhaps to the permanence of our Government, deny that the vote of New York will be a most important figure in the electoral column of the victor; and the same may be said of the great States of the Northwest. Nowhere is the hatred of the National Democrats against fanaticism more intense than in the States of Indiana, Illinois, and Ohio, and nowhere do they demand with more determination to be led to combat by some national, consistent, and resolute Democrat, free from any personal impediments which would impair his efficiency and divert the public mind upon collateral and immaterial issues. But Mr. Pierce has incurred another disability, inevitable, perhaps, by an Executive incumbent. He has, in the distribution of official patronage, incensed and offended thousands, who are now lying in wait for an opportunity to repay what they choose to deem an unjust disregard of their claims. This element of opposition, to some extent unscrupulous and revengeful—an interest which will not hesitate to destroy even the temple dedicated to Democratic harmony, if it can thereby reach those who are obnoxious—is dangerous and to be deprecated. Executive patronage has been unhappily of late years regarded as the personal perquisite of the incumbent; and the Administration of Mr. Pierce has so far advanced in this improper policy, as to consider the distribution of this patronage a legitimate means of promoting not only the personal interests of the Executive, but each department, with a view to the future—casts its favors upon the political waters, that, after many days, they may be returned with usury to the giver. If, then, this valuable material of influence, committed to the Administration as a fiduciary deposit for the benefit of the Democratic party, has been wasted and lost in selfish and unworthy application to the personal advancement of those who hold it, they can but expect indulgence for a perverted trust, and can, with no shadow of justice, ask an indemnity for an injudicious speculation. It is an adventure made with a fiduciary fund, and the profit or loss must be a matter of personal settlement. Without assenting to the proposition of the pamphleteer, that the South "should avail itself of any expedient of self-protection," it must be admitted that the patronage of the Federal Government has become a material element of political success, and may be honorably employed to enhance the chances of victory. It is the military chest and the magazine of political warfare; but this important element has been totally expended by the existing Administration. General Pierce is emphatically out of ammunition. If continued in power he can make no material change in the official *personnel* of the party. There can be small hope of vacancies or of promotion. It is well known, moreover, that an office-holder who has been withdrawn for some years from the locality where he has been active and translated to Washington, has no more influence than if he had been dead for the same length of time. Upon the other hand, the Black Republican party is openly in the field for recruits. It is offering pay, bounty, and plunder. It will run anew the Missouri line of office, and will promote no one to station or salary who is not at heart a Free-soiler. The Democratic party will need some of this element of patronage. It must be at least able to counter the designs of its antagonists by offering an equivalent inducement; the present Administration will, as we have shown, have none to bestow. It has even given to the Free-soilers the insane hope of securing their services by a number of valuable offices, which it cannot take away without acknowledging in the face of the world the consideration upon which it was bestowed. Any attempt on the part of this Administration to evict the stipendiaries from office, would result in an exposure of the true consideration upon which its bestowal had been founded. The Free-soilers of the North will, in the next Presidential campaign, actually employ the patronage of a Democratic Administration to secure the success of its direct enemies. The present Administration cannot, therefore, shrive itself from the sin of Free-soil appointments without an exposure fatal to the pretensions of the Democratic party in the South to consistency and good faith. It will require a new Administration to turn out the Free-soilers from office. The present does not dare to do it.

We think it perfectly plain, therefore, that Mr. Pierce, having incurred unpopularity by the injudicious bestowal of the influence conferred to him by the Democratic party, has impaired his efficiency as a candidate; whilst the fact of his having nothing to bestow, leaves him so much the less useful. We have, then, shown that the Democratic party is not responsible for this position of affairs, and therefore cannot in justice or wisdom be expected to bestow its suffrages upon a candidate who has drawn upon himself such a formidable disability. We care not to enumerate any other objection which may have grown out of the position to which Mr. Pierce has been elevated. But we may add, the public conviction is, that as men do not govern by divine right; so it requires no

inspiration, except that of good sense, experience, and integrity, to administer Executive duties. We do not like that exploded doctrine that the perpetration of power in particular hands is indispensable to the safety of the Government. On the contrary, we think its safety consists in so simplifying those duties as that they may be readily discharged by many of the thousands who aspire to public trust amongst us. Ill fares the vessel which has but one man on board competent to command or steer her. With these views there are many men of honorable ambition who may and do properly look forward to the period when, by a fair apportionment of the honors of the Republic, they may aspire to, the highest gift within its bestowal. This is a high and honorable place, and, to multiply the applicants for it, is to stimulate the virtue and intellectual advancement of our people. If, then, this capital prize is to be drawn for quadrennially, it will surely interest more men than if it be postponed for the prolonged term of eight years. The greater the number of public men who are thus induced to aid the success of a political party by the enhanced prospect of sharing its honors, the better the prospects of success for that party. Such is the position and such the reasons of modern politicians in favor of the one-term principle. We think, then, that the renomination of Mr. Pierce is subject to many objections; that the fact of having held office once, gives him no claim to a re-appointment; and that the Democratic party, and especially the Southern members of that party, are under no obligation either in honor or policy to renominate him at the Cincinnati Convention.

But the question recurs, should the Democratic Party, and the Southern States especially, bestow their vote upon him?

To this we unhesitatingly reply in the language of our second proposition: That the Democracy of Virginia and of the South, having heretofore received at the hands of Mr. Buchanan an honest and consistent support, and having heretofore tendered him assurances of their confidence, may consistently, honorably and advantageously confer their electoral votes upon him, at the Cincinnati Convention.

In commencing the demonstration of this proposition, we deny the assumption made by the pamphleteer, that "the nomination" of any "candidate at the Cincinnati Convention will be equivalent to an election." Whoever will look impartially at the field upon which the great battle of 1856 is to be fought, will find reason for prudent calculation and for the deliberate accumulation of all the conservative materials which can be commanded. Let us calmly survey the ground of the conflict which is to be there decided.

Old parties have been broken down, chiefly by the approbation of the people to the policies and policy of the Democratic Party. To evict that party from the administration of affairs a most extraordinary and unnatural combination of all its antagonists has been formed. The restless, fanatical, and mercenary are slowly gathering around the Black Republican banner. It bears but one inscription, "Down with Slavery." To meet this formidable organization and to defeat this fearful issue, the Democracy is called to the field, but it is by no means in perfect condition for the conflict. It has lost the great majority under which, in 1852, it came into power. Discontent, fanaticism, perhaps even its victories, has rent asunder and embittered its sections against each other. Whilst the great State of Pennsylvania, always true to the equiscope of the constitution, gravitates to the immutable principles of Democracy, the State of Ohio stands in open opposition, and New York is in precarious adhesion, unless her wounded sensibilities be cared for and healed.

But the efforts of the Democratic Party will be, we fear, unequal to success, unless it can combine all those who value the Union of the States and the rights of the States above every other consideration. Unless all these elements of conservatism, in some respects incongruous, can be united, the result of the Presidential election in 1856 will be doubtful. Indeed, the pamphleteer who has affirmed the nomination of any candidate to be an equivalent to an election, admits his error by declaring subsequently, "if we fail to nominate him," [Mr. Pierce.] "it will alienate our Northern friends and leave the south in a state of helpless isolation." This shows that so far from the nomination of any candidate being equivalent to an election, the nomination of a particular individual is essential to the preservation of the South from isolation, and of course to preserve the Democratic party from defeat, a Democratic candidate is then required who will stand upon and maintain the Nebraska Kansas act, and the Missouri repeal, and who can unite upon that basis all the elements of conservatism against the nefarious designs of the Black Republicans.

As there is at this time no other party in the field which occupies the same position with the Democratic Party upon this question, the Northern States can vote for no other than a Democratic candidate.

With all our feelings interwoven with the happiness and honor of the State from which we are proud to deduce our lineage, and with whose people we are allied by every consideration of affection and interest, we do not hesitate to say that Virginia and the South requires at this time a Northern candidate, because we require influence at the North and because thousands at the North would maintain the rights of the South, in the person of a Northern man, who might hesitate to expose themselves to the taint of supporting a candidate not only opposed to the prejudices of the North but residing in a different section of the Union.

It is immaterial to Democratic success in Virginia, and the South, whether the Cincinnati Convention nominate Mr. Pierce, Mr. Douglas, Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Wise, or any other candidate standing upon a national platform. If the Americans of the South shall adopt the same platform, they will be valuable auxiliaries, if needed in a contested election before Congress, and will rather excite emulation than rivalry, if the contest shall be decided in the open field.

We have shown that there is no obligation of honor, requiring the South to renew the commission of Mr. Pierce. It is equally obvious that the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska act, and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, is by no means his personal property. It is well known that these measures

originated with others. It is well remembered that the organ of Mr. Pierce even criticized the introduction of the Missouri repeal, and did not come up to the maintenance of these measures, until their most distinguished advocate in the Senate had, like Cortez, burned his ships, and staked his political existence upon a successful assault against this ancient and obstinate error.

But such legislation was in fact inevitable upon the first application of the Compromise act, for, as Mr. Buchanan has affirmed in his letter to the Union meeting of Philadelphia, in September, 1850,

"The defeat of the Wilmot proviso and the passage of the fugitive slave law are all that the South have obtained by the compromise. They asked for the Missouri Compromise, which, it is known, that for one I was always willing to concede, believing this would be the most just, equitable, and satisfactory arrangement of the territorial question between the North and the South; but that has passed away."

The Nebraska act was, indeed, so obviously a corollary from the compromise of 1850, that many statesmen thought the regular result of judicature would supersede the necessity of special legislation. Upon this ground it received the support of many. It would not, therefore, be just to claim for Mr. Pierce or any other individual the merit of a measure which originated without Executive recommendation in the legislative department, and which has been confirmed by the people. It would be surely no State Rights doctrine, that sovereign States which have introduced, and carried this great measure, should prostrate themselves in gratitude at the footstool of the Federal Executive. The homage, if due at all, should rather come the other way.

The South, then, being in no doubt whatever, but certain to vote for any Democratic nominee upon this Democratic platform, it becomes of great importance to select some nominee who can carry the Northern States, by conciliating, harmonizing, and uniting in his support all the elements of opposition to the Black Republican and Abolition candidate.

Our opinion upon this point is all well known. We mean not to disparage any of the numerous distinguished Democrats, worthy of high honor to be conferred at Cincinnati.

We mean by no means to threaten or insinuate that we will not cast our influence in favor of the candidate who may be chosen, but we should be derelict to our duty to the country, and to our own conscientious convictions, if we did not declare that the Democracy of the South having tested the devotion of Mr. Buchanan to their rights, may consistently, honorably, and advantageously support him as their most eligible and appropriate nominee.

To demonstrate this proposition, a short review of historical facts in connection with this eminent statesman will be necessary.

The honorable James Buchanan has been identified with the Democratic party in all the fierce conflicts with its formidable antagonists, National Whigs, and the various hostile combinations, which have since their dispersion assailed it. He stood by Jackson in his perilous contest with the most formidable opposition which any American Administration has ever encountered. He sustained the Democratic party against the monetary influence of the commercial emporium of his own State, and aided not only in prostrating a great fiscal agent, whose advantages were most sensibly felt by his own fellow-citizens, but in the establishment of another system, intended to deprive every commercial community of the incidental advantages resulting from the federal deposits, and thus effectually separating the Government of the country from the management of the banks.

He made distinct and immediate opposition to Mr. Van Buren, when the latter proposed to mislead and commit the Democratic Party to the insidious endorsement of free labor and free soil. He did not hesitate to express his opposition to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. He denounced the transmission of incendiary publications through the mail.

He advocated the admission of Texas with a knowledge that she retained the right of subdivision into several States, with the right of admission into the Union with or without the institution of slavery, as the people should determine.

He was the resolute advocate of the war with Mexico, and sanctioned the treaty by which we acquired an extent of territory valuable not less for the enlarged field of settlement and dispersion, open to our enterprising people, than for those natural treasures in which all have participated. He was the first public man who proposed the extension of the Missouri line across this Territory, that there might be an harmonious partition of a common property between the people of the United States who had acquired it. These are some of the acts which James Buchanan has performed for the good of the Democratic Party and the protection of Southern rights. But that he might find his claims to public confidence to be even higher ground than mere devotion to the interests of a party, however patriotic, when the insane conflicts of sectionalism had wrapt the fabric of our liberties in flames, forgetting all the antipathies of sections and of party, he united with Clay and Clayton, with Webster and Crittenden, with Fillmore and Cass, with Foote and Clemens, and gave to the country that series of measures known as the Compromise, which restored peace and preserved the Union.

We have recently learned that an insidious effort has been made to impair the confidence of the South in his efficiency and fidelity upon the ground that he has not participated in the debate or votes upon the questions of Nebraska and Kansas.

It cannot be matter of fair reproach that he has not been battling in the Senate of the United States when he was absent in the service of the country. It is fortunate for the Democratic Party that its record of action upon the important subject involved has been so brilliant at home and abroad; and this, to a fair extent, is due to the agency of its foreign representatives.

The opinions of Mr. Buchanan upon the Nebraska Kansas law and the repeal of the Missouri line, have been perfectly consistent with those principles so long and so fearlessly advanced, and acted on by him. We have shown that as early as 1852, he had expressed the opinion, in which other eminent publicists have concurred, that the Missouri line was obliterated

by the Compromise of 1850, but he has distinctly and emphatically declared that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the principle of State and popular sovereignty embodied in the Nebraska Kansas law, must stand as the settled law upon that subject. We quote from his letter to the Hon. Mr. Silldell, of Louisiana,

"The question has been settled by Congress, and this settlement should be inflexibly maintained. The Missouri Compromise is gone and gone forever. But no assault should be made upon those Democrats who maintained it, provided they are now willing in good faith to maintain the settlement as it exists. Such an understanding is wise and just in itself."

It is well known how I labored in company with Southern men to have this line extended to the Pacific ocean. But it has departed. The time for it has passed away, and I verily believe that the best—nay, the only—mode now left of putting down the fanatical and reckless spirit of abolition at the North is to adhere to the existing settlement without the slightest thought or appearance of wavering, and without regarding any storm which may be raised against it."

We presume that no Southern man can object to this declaration as perfectly satisfactory. Nor could the most captious complain that he could not be at Washington and at St. James at the same time. As well might the friends of this venerable and distinguished statesman object to his competitors that they did not battle with him for the admission of Texas, or for the extension of the Missouri Compromise line across California.

But there is even as strong, and perhaps equally effectual, a declaration made by the friends of Mr. Buchanan in the great State of Pennsylvania, endorsing his position and pledging with enthusiasm the true Democracy of that noble Commonwealth to their maintenance. We make no apology for publishing entire, and calling the especial attention of the citizens of Virginia and the South, to the distinct and unequivocal resolutions adopted by the late Pennsylvania Democratic State Convention at Harrisburg, commending the Hon. James Buchanan as the nation's choice for President, and adopted unanimously and with enthusiasm:

Resolved, That by the general consent of the wise and virtuous of all nations, the framers of the Republic of the United States, exhibited in their individual characters and in the result of their public deliberations, a degree of virtue and a practical statesmanship, to which the history of the world affords no parallel; that in no part of the Federal compact is the wisdom of our fathers more conspicuous, than in leaving the whole question of slavery to the States in their separate capacities, and that in the popular mind turning in the hour of strife, ambition, and fanaticism, to one who treats the stage amongst the last and the greatest of a departing race of statesmen. It is the a flectionate demand of the substantial masses of his own State, that he whom they have supported with such constant unanimity through so long and so eventful a period, should postpone the retirement upon which he has determined to the last and the highest service he can render to them and to the nation.

He comes with no power of patronage, with no skill of intrigue. His sole strength consists in the integrity of his character, the extent of his experience, and the superior ability of his mind.

He will be hailed by men of every grade of opinion as a moderate, conservative, national statesman, an able, experienced, and honest man. He has secured the trust, and won the approbation of his countrymen. He has invested in the confidence of the country the honest accumulation of a life of honorable service. This it will be his duty to maintain, without diminution, as the solace of his age, and the assurance of the future. It will not be for him to jeopardize this precious deposit, by reckless speculations upon the public trust, nor to strike out at the risk of destruction to the Union new measures for his own personal aggrandizement. There can be no danger that he will intrigue for a second term, who does not solicit even the first. There will be no danger that he will seek to turn the vessel of State upon a piratical cruise, when he has freighted her with so many, and such splendid acquisitions. No, let others add the false gods of ambition. For him and his house, they will worship in the temple of the Union, and pursue the path traced by the fathers of our liberty and of the Constitution.

Resolved, That the effort to direct the power of the government by anti-slavery agitators, and by the use of the name and place of President, anti-Nebraskaism, Fusionism, and Republicanism, and by interfering with the rights of conscience in establishing a religious test as a qualification for office, by the secret oath-bound society of the Know-Nothings, is opposed both to the letter and the spirit of the Constitution, and to the earnest teachings and practice of its earliest and most honored administrators.

Resolved, That in the repeal of the act known as the Missouri Compromise Act, and the passage of the act organizing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, free from unconstitutional restrictions, the last Congress performed a work of patriotic sacrifice, in meeting the demands of the sectional excitement by unshaken adherence to the fundamental laws.

Resolved, That this legislation cannot be deemed unnecessary, but that it was expedient to meet the questions of which it disposed, and which could never admit of a more easy settlement than at present. That we recognize in it the application to the Territories of the United States of the rule of "equal and exact justice to all men," of all sections of the confederacy, which was designed by the framers of our government, and which was defined by the essential principles by the immortal Jefferson.

Resolved, That the Democracy of Pennsylvania, following the counsel of some of the wisest statesmen of the North and South, were ready on more than one occasion in the past to extend the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific, so as to make the basis of a final settlement of the question of slavery in the Territories; but when this proposition was rejected, in 1848, on the ground that it involved an undue concession to the South, by the very men who now clamor for a restoration of the Missouri line, there seemed to be but one wise alternative left, and that was to refer the whole question of slavery in the Territories to the people, through the regulation as they may deem proper; and we, therefore, cheerfully extend our hearty support to the policy of the government as recognized in the Compromise Measures of 1850, and embodied in the laws organizing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska.

Resolved, That unwelcome indications point to the Hon. James Buchanan—distinguished alike by his high personal character, his tried Democracy, his great abilities, experience, and eminent statesmanship—as the nation's choice for the office of President of the United States, for the term commencing on the 4th of March, 1857; and that we do hereby instruct our delegates to the National Convention to assemble in Cincinnati, in June next, to use their efforts to secure him the nomination of that office.

Surely such declarations, sustained by a statesman so sincere and so consistent, and backed by the electoral votes of the great Keystone Commonwealth, must constitute a pledge and a guarantee sufficient to satisfy the most exacting.

At the same time it constitutes no objection that he has not expatriated his political opponents who agree with him upon the great issue, whilst they differ with him upon subordinate questions, that he has not even offended members of his own party by discrimination or neglect; that he cannot have gorged one-half of his party with office whilst he has denied the other a fair participation. In a word, that he has stood by the Democratic flag in the

glory of conquest and in the dust of defeat; and has always protected that powerful and patriotic interest in the South which has contributed so much to maintain the union of the States and the ascendancy of the Democratic party.

But we do not recite these services as constituting any claim for peculiar compensation—their reward has consisted in their success; yet when the South comes to declare who is the most efficient representative of their political opinions and sectional interests, it is proper to remember that he has been tried and found true through a long, faithful, and consistent term of public service.

It was for this cause that Virginia gave Mr. Buchanan her support in the Presidential convention of 1852, when she adhered to him, until her duty to the National Democracy demanded that she should bestow it upon a nominee then altogether unexceptionable and comparatively unknown.

Since that period he has been called by the President to represent our interests at the Court of Great Britain, and although by the withdrawal of the Fishery question from our unadjusted differences with that power, his negotiations were deprived of a powerful argument of reciprocity, he yet evinced no discontent at this implied imputation upon his capacity. He represented faithfully the views of the Administration at the conference of Ostend. He resisted the pretensions of England, entailed by the entangling alliance of the Clayton-Bulwer convention. He demanded acknowledgment and reparation at the hands of Great Britain for her deliberate and offensive infractions of our neutrality laws, as well as of her own solemn treaties; and he now returns from that eminent and responsible position, having faithfully performed every duty committed to him by the Government of his country.

It is an usual and almost unmeaning declaration, that men who have devoted their lives to the political services of their country are averse to receive its highest honors; but Mr. Buchanan has given the most conclusive evidence that he desires to retire from the toil and responsibilities of office, by his repeated withdrawal from stations not only gratifying to his ambition, but valuable in affording facilities of higher advancement. From this retirement he has invariably responded to the call of his country or of its government.

His present prominent position is not of his seeking. It is the spontaneous impulse of the popular mind turning in the hour of strife, ambition, and fanaticism, to one who treats the stage amongst the last and the greatest of a departing race of statesmen. It is the a flectionate demand of the substantial masses of his own State, that he whom they have supported with such constant unanimity through so long and so eventful a period, should postpone the retirement upon which he has determined to the last and the highest service he can render to them and to the nation.

He comes with no power of patronage, with no skill of intrigue. His sole strength consists in the integrity of his character, the extent of his experience, and the superior ability of his mind.

He will be hailed by men of every grade of opinion as a moderate, conservative, national statesman, an able, experienced, and honest man. He has secured the trust, and won the approbation of his countrymen. He has invested in the confidence of the country the honest accumulation of a life of honorable service. This it will be his duty to maintain, without diminution, as the solace of his age, and the assurance of the future. It will not be for him to jeopardize this precious deposit, by reckless speculations upon the public trust, nor to strike out at the risk of destruction to the Union new measures for his own personal aggrandizement. There can be no danger that he will intrigue for a second term, who does not solicit even the first. There will be no danger that he will seek to turn the vessel of State upon a piratical cruise, when he has freighted her with so many, and such splendid acquisitions. No, let others add the false gods of ambition. For him and his house, they will worship in the temple of the Union, and pursue the path traced by the fathers of our liberty and of the Constitution.

Such a man will unite the support of the National Democratic Party. He will enlist the suffrages of every conservative patriot who is willing to postpone the discussion of questions involving the mere expediency of administration, to the great object of restoring the harmony and perpetuating the duration of the Government itself. He will receive the support of National Whigs, whose hearts, softened by the Democratic justice accorded to the memory and motives of HENRY CLAY, will testify their appreciation of this magnanimous spirit by casting their votes for one who was ever the antagonist of that great man, in opinion, but his associate in every measure necessary for the defence and welfare of their common country. He will receive the support of the Southern States, because he has acquired their confidence, without having incurred the hatred or suspicion of the North, and whilst they rally around and rely upon him as a true exponent and protector of their interests, the noble Commonwealth of Virginia will hasten to show that in her magnanimous surrender of her first choice in 1852, she was actuated by the same lofty motive which impels her to bestow her support upon him in 1856—the maintenance of her rights, the preservation of the Union, and the good of the Democratic Republic Party.

PARTIAL ECLIPSE OF THE MOON.

A correspondent of the National Intelligencer says:

"The moon will enter the earth's shadow on Saturday night, April 19, or rather on Sunday morning, at twenty-six minutes past 2 o'clock, and at four o'clock there will be more than seven-tenths of her disk obscured. Mars will then be near his setting point, a little to the south of west. During this eclipse the moon will be in the southwestern part of the heavens, accompanied by the bright star Spica Virginis. About the hour of sunrise she will have completed her passage through the umbra and gone down with her fair companion to the chambers of the west."

The President has pardoned Captain Charles Kehrman, who was convicted in Boston some time since, on the charge of being in command of the American brig Glamorgan, which vessel was captured on the coast of Africa in 1854.